

REMARKS BY
GENERAL C. P. CABELL, USAF
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
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"A COMMON SENSE VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM"

We in Texas are able to recognize both big truths and big lies. So, let's take this opportunity to talk in common sense language about the international affairs of our day. I wish to emphasize the common sense point of view. We in this country have run the gamut of emotions, and opinions about Communism, the Soviet Union, and their impact on world affairs.

Let me illustrate by telling a little story about a man and his wife who were visiting a big city and saw their first train. They studied it as it was standing in the station and the Mrs. turned to her husband and said, "Pa, what do you think?" Pa said, "It'll never run, it'll never run." Well, the train pulled out, and, as it disappeared around a bend the Mrs. turned again and said to Pa, "Now what do you think?" Pa shook his head, and answered, "It'll never stop, it'll never stop!"

We have gone through something of the same cycle in our attitude toward International Communism. For years many people in this country were of the opinion that the Soviet Union could never become a going concern. I doubt any sensible person still holds that view today. More recently, however, there is a growing body of opinion abroad and in this country which is willing to grant practically unlimited capabilities and potentialities to the Soviet Union and its Communist allies. This view is also the Communist view. Moscow tells us in millions of words daily that Communism represents the wave of the future,

and that it is only a matter of time until Khrushchev's prophecy that he will "bury us" comes to pass.

There are many ways of approaching the study of the Soviet Union. I do not want to quarrel with the value of any single approach.

We need historical research, theoretical analysis, and hard-headed diplomacy especially in the decade ahead.

The historical view depends on drawing analogies between the present threat of International Communism, and earlier examples of dictatorships and world revolutionary movements. The historians have already laid the ground work for filing International Communism in its appropriate chapter after this menace has run its course. This is a useful exercise but does not meet the common sense requirements of first understanding, and then combatting and defeating the forces of Communism.

There is also a hysterical view of Communism. Too many people are only too willing to denounce, depreciate, or deny the threat of International Communism. These people protest loudly and long that they themselves are anti-Communist and that they are against evil.

This view blinds us to the substantial material accomplishments by the Communist regime, and to the material threat which it presents to us, a threat which will not be turned away or defeated by sermons against wickedness.

Finally, there is the hypothetical view of Communism. Scholars debate learnedly about the abstract theory of Communism as contrasted to our own respect for the dignity and freedom of the individual man. One argument has it that Marx and Lenin were poor scholars and worse philosophers and that any government based on weak doctrinal foundations is bound to collapse. This argument may be theoretically defensible but it does not help with the more pressing problem exemplified

by the fact that the regime has survived, and continues to grow in material strength, -- including military capability, economic abundance for national and international power goals, and internal political stability.

In the practice of intelligence, even as in the practice of medicine, theory and history have their proper places. Ultimately, however, we come down to the common sense relationship of this doctor with this patient, or of this specific Communist action and our common sense knowledge of it.

I propose to discuss a number of common sense questions about International Communism to see if we can relate the answers to our day-to-day way of life.

First, who are the Communist leaders? They are direct descendants of the pre-1917 revolutionaries. They flourished during the years when Stalin ruled by open terror and secret police. They are all advocates of an atheistic world revolution. They are historically, theoretically, and practically, conspirators, intriguers and revolutionists. Intrigue is a central feature of their heritage, both as Russians and as Communists.

The central idea in all their doctrine, in all their utterances, and underlying all their actions, is world revolution. This has been true since the beginning of the movement and remains true today. There are not a great number of these leaders. The rubber stamp Supreme Soviet numbers about 1300, but the real power is centered in the fourteen-member Presidium and the 125 members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They have neither an absolute personal dictatorship nor, by any means, representative government. In 43 years of rule they have been completely unable to work out any legal means for providing for a successor when a leader like Stalin dies.

It is not a weak regime. The Party, which dominates the government, is supported by a dedicated and efficient managerial class which runs the economy,

the military machine, and the populace. We do not see any current threat which is apt to topple the present leaders.

The second question is, what do the Communist leaders really want? The answer is, simply, the world. Call it conquest, domination, or control, their aim, as stated by themselves and as demonstrated in their actions, is to destroy freedom in the world and to impose a Communist structure on the whole globe. They are presently working on the means to achieve that end. Their statements are aggressive and they talk more of the negative, that is, the destructive aspects, than they do of the positive aspects of what this ideal world of theirs would be like. As a matter of fact, I am struck by their vagueness about the Communist Utopia. They themselves have admitted that their constant propaganda about the glorious future has become boring to the Russian people. They are trying to reform their internal propaganda.

Their propaganda to the world concentrates on the same central theme it has always emphasized, that is, the destruction of capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism.

Theirs is the language of total war. They have a consistency and a single-mindedness about promoting a world revolution which is unique in the history of dictatorships. We have been warned before, by Hitler, of plans for world domination. We can not ignore the present, clear Communist warning.

So far I have talked about a band of revolutionaries with an obsessive compulsion to rule the world. This is a threat to us because they have, as we can demonstrate from a common sense point of view, the intention of trying. They also have something of a capability to do what they say they are going to do.

So the next series of questions concerns very practical matters. What

resources do they have for extending their power throughout the world? How do they intend to expand their influence? Where will they strike, and when will they strike?

As far as Communist resources are concerned, we must never forget that the Soviet Union itself occupies about a sixth of the total territory in the world. It is richly endowed with natural resources; it has a population of over two hundred million and a history, during its some 40 years of existence, of tremendous industrial growth. The Soviet seat of power can count, in varying degrees, on the cooperation and resources of some 680 million Chinese, and the assets of various satellites attached either to Moscow or Peiping.

The Soviet economic growth rate is presently greater than that of the United States. Their goal is first to overtake the United States in those sectors of national production which will best promote the growth of Soviet national power and the extension of International Communist influence. For example, with a total gross national product about half that of our country, the Soviets and we are spending about the same amounts annually on our respective military programs.

First and foremost, from a common sense point of view, we face a present and continuing military threat. The Soviet war machine is a large, modern, establishment. They have striking forces and defensive forces geared to the requirements of the nuclear age -- without sacrificing any ability to fight conventional wars in areas directly contiguous to the Communist Bloc. The Soviets have a mixture of missiles, bombers, fighters, and air defense systems. They have the largest submarine force the world has ever known. They maintain large ground armies equipped with a nuclear capability.

This military machine is supported by a growing and efficient economy, and

because of strict state control, able to switch on a moment's notice to forced-draft programs as the Soviet leaders so decide.

The Soviet economic-military potential is guided by a regime which can count on the loyalty, however unenthusiastic, of the Russian people.

We in intelligence recognize that all is not completely rosy in the Soviet Union. For example, like us they have a farm problem. Their problem, however, is the exact opposite of ours. They need to increase farm production. I shall not attempt to develop tonight this question of their problems. With respect to industrial goals which they have set for themselves, we believe that they will meet them, and that the regime will not be greatly hampered by domestic pressures for more consumer goods. In short, their economic and military power will continue to grow at a rate which presents the Free World with a serious threat and challenge.

The Soviets have one great intangible resource which can best be described as gall.

They are showing ever-increasing confidence and even arrogance about their growth, both in material things and in influence. Steeped in the revolutionary war and dedicated to a mission of world revolution, -- their pride in their own accomplishments makes them see the future balance of power tipped inevitably in their favor.

We in intelligence consider that the only sensible view of Communist intentions is that they seek to destroy us by any means which they can use.

The next question is, how. Will it be by direct military attack or by long term erosion? The answer is both. If we display weakness in our military establishment, if they believe they could strike without suffering unacceptable damage in return, then they will strike. Similarly, if we maintain soft spots

in our non-military posture at home and around the world they will, as they have in the past, seek to exploit these weaknesses.

At this time, our best intelligence judgment is that the Soviet leaders have themselves acquired enough common sense to recognize that if they were to launch a military attack, they would suffer crippling devastation in return. We believe that the Soviets foresee a period of so-called "mutual deterrence", when neither side has a distinct military superiority -- a period called by the Soviets "peaceful co-existence".

This is a reasonable sounding proposition. But, "peaceful co-existence" really is the name for the Communist effort to destroy us by non-military means. On the 6th of December this year, following a three-week long meeting of the World Communist parties in Moscow, the Communists issued a twenty thousand word manifesto. Let me quote from this document. Quote: "The line of peaceful co-existence is a line of mobilization of the masses for development of intensified actions against the enemies of peace. Peaceful co-existence ... does not mean ... a rejection of the class war. ... Peaceful co-existence ... does not mean reconciliation between the socialists (Communists) and bourgeoisie ideologies. On the contrary, it implies an intensification of the struggle of the working class and of all Communist parties for the triumph of Communist ideas."

In their non-military arsenal they have at their disposal all the open techniques of diplomacy, trade, foreign aid and cultural missions which, when used by almost any other country, would be legitimate arms of official government business. The Communists have in addition local parties in nearly every country in the world, -- parties trained and directed by Moscow, as at the recent meeting, and dedicated to the overthrow of representative governments.

This is no secret. The Soviet news agency Tass, only a few days ago, publicly boasted of the International Communist network by declaring that 81 Communist parties were represented at the recent Moscow meetings. The Soviets also boasted that there are active Communist parties in 87 countries in the world.

The Soviet Union, founded in police terror, spying and intrigue, maintains a worldwide intelligence system which can concentrate on targets of highest priority. The Soviets have the greatest and most expensive propaganda machine the world has ever known.

We are at war, termed a Cold War, against all of this right now. However, a cold war is difficult to dramatize. There is no image of a uniformed soldier presenting a direct physical threat to you or your family. Of all the postures which Khrushchev has adopted (with or without his shoes on) he does not come through clearly as a dashing military figure. However, he is all the more dangerous because of the complexity, the subtlety, the patience, and the drive which he brings to his personification of International Communism.

He is the earthy Russian peasant, the skillful, devious bureaucrat, and the undisputed head of a revolutionary conspiracy. Since 1956 he and his cronies have, on more than 40 separate occasions, threatened 15 countries with destruction by rockets with nuclear warheads. He claims absolute and complete credit for the ideas of total disarmament and peaceful co-existence and, indeed, for all the present accomplishments and future aspirations not only of the Communist world but for much of the Free World, too.

Can you think of a greater display of arrogance than the recent declarations by the International Communist movement outlining the future history of the world and detailing the methods by which the Communists intend to impose their rule?

As to where the Communists may seek to promote their victory by military or non-military means, the answer is simply anywhere and everywhere.

The question has been asked, but are Communist subversive attacks in remote areas of the world really attacks on this country? For example, why should we be concerned about Laos?

Several years ago we were inclined to say that what goes on far across the Atlantic or the Pacific does not really affect us. Then we began to recognize the real intentions of the Communists. Several months ago we could still have said: "Today Laos is in danger; tomorrow it may be somewhere else, perhaps closer to home." Now we are forced to say: "Today Laos and today Cuba, 90 miles from our shores."

Does Soviet trade represent a threat to this country? It does if the Soviets decide to use their capability to manipulate and disrupt traditional markets. For example, petroleum from the Soviet Bloc is being peddled without regard for standard business practices in western Europe.

Does foreign aid extended by the Soviets represent a threat to our country? It does when it is used to subvert leaders and people otherwise loyal to the principles of the Free World; it does when it provides a new base in that country for Communist expansion; it does when it encourages demands for us to give up our overseas defensive bases; and it does when it creates the impression that the material rewards gained through foreign aid can be accepted with equal risk or cost whether it comes from the Communists or from Free World countries.

In addition to exploiting widespread fears of what a nuclear war would bring, and so cause a reduction of U. S. strength, the Soviets are trying to create the impression that countries in the underdeveloped areas of the world have a simple choice between Communism and capitalism. Newly independent

countries are under strong pressures to make rapid economic growth. They listen to constant Communist propaganda extolling the accomplishments of 40 years. They conclude that they have a simple choice to accept aid from rich Communists or rich capitalists.

This is not the issue -- the choice is between the dictatorship of the Soviet Communist party and freedom to grow and develop according to one's own ideals and needs. This is the choice for political leaders throughout Asia, the Middle East, Africa and even in Latin America. It is our choice and our challenge, too.

One of the most striking illustrations of the total opposition between the Communist closed society, and our own open society, is the Communist attack on the entire American effort to acquire the knowledge necessary to protect our national security. The Soviet effort to discredit and destroy the intelligence arm of our government goes on remorselessly with vindictive personal assaults on my Boss, Mr. Allen W. Dulles, the Director of Central Intelligence. They put out a steady stream of lies, distortions and invective aimed at thwarting our efforts to gain more knowledge about the world outside the United States. In fact they do everything possible to discredit our Intelligence service and clip our wings. They act like a fearful government with something to hide.

In the cold war, our Intelligence Officers stand in the front lines of the Free World defenses.

It is a testimony to the effectiveness of our intelligence effort that the Communist governments have seen fit to launch a major campaign to halt our activities. Their attitude toward intelligence is entirely consistent with their attitude toward the Free World in general. In their actions they themselves expose the fraud of co-existence. For example, they have steadfastly refused

to accept an adequate system of controls and inspection to accompany any agreement on disarmament. They cannot bring themselves to admit Free World inspectors to Soviet territory. Another example is in the much-heralded East-West exchange program. Visits to the Soviet Union are still tightly controlled; vast areas are still off limits and they do not allow nearly as many of their tourists to visit the United States as go to the Soviet Union.

Behind their curtain of secrecy, they believe that they can make preparations for a surprise military attack.

They are also shielding their own people from contacts with Westerners and from the Western way of life. One grim example of their speaking with a forked tongue is their appeal to young people in the underdeveloped areas to study in the recently opened Peoples University in Moscow. As a matter of fact, when these students get to the Soviet Union they don't find such Utopian conditions. Soviet security regulations interfere with the carrying out of approved research. They also run into discrimination. As a result, many of them have become disillusioned and have said so in no uncertain terms. One Middle Eastern government, which has accepted large amounts of aid from the Soviet Union, has recalled its students from the Soviet Union because of Communist efforts to subvert them.

To increase our knowledge of the Communist world is the major task of American intelligence.

Unlike the Soviets who can concentrate their agents on targets of momentary priority, we must go to extraordinary lengths to gain basic information, about the U.S.S.R. The Communists get this kind of information free from our daily newspapers and other publications. Whatever the obstacles, collecting intelligence about Communist capabilities and intentions is vital. So long as they continue

to build their military strength and to boast openly of a complete victory over us, common sense demands that we continue to collect intelligence to protect our national security.

If I may use an analogy with the practice of medicine, we in Intelligence are trying to bring to bear all the resources that our ingenuity can muster to offer a diagnosis of the ailment. Unlike medicine, we stop short of prescribing or recommending. Having collected all the data which human observers and technological devices can collect, we then turn to what is the most important step in the Intelligence process -- a common sense evaluation of what it all means. It is this ingredient of common sense which links Intelligence with a capital eye and intelligence in the general or common sense meaning of the word. Only a small fraction of the entire Intelligence process is glamorous or dramatic. The bulk of the work is laborious and painstaking, sorting out, trial and error, and basically application of common sense.

This done -- and I wish it were as simple as it sounds -- finished Intelligence, that is, evaluated information, is made available to the policy makers in our government. They prescribe the dose.

In answer to the question: "When will the Communists strike?" -- the answer is they have attacked, they are attacking, and they will continue to attack.

You can be of great service, because willingly or not, you are involved in a total cold war. You can enlist directly in the Intelligence service if you so choose. You can do this by informing yourselves and your neighbors of the nature of the Communist threat. You can prepare yourselves and your children also to deal with it. As a matter of fact, it is vitally important that we bring to the young people in this country a keen awareness of the menace which they face. We can all prepare ourselves to discriminate between the constructive

and destructive actions presented to us, and to support the constructive ones, at whatever cost.

It is certainly clear to all of you by this time, that I'm not offering you much cheer on the international scene.

I would be untrue to my responsibilities as an Intelligence Officer if I tried falsely to pretty-up the picture. I would be extending the fraud already perpetrated by the Communists, if I led you to believe that stopping them could come easily or soon.

Just as in the past, Doctors have stopped great epidemics, so too can the people of the United States, in support of their leaders, play the great role in stopping the spreading Communist epidemic.

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